1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[9]

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background:

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians.

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained:

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself.

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching.

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera-

1:Sanders Z-5 / (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows:

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About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it.

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The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers.

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When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today.

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875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children
so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read
and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way
places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and
other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally
how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about
the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be im-
pure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he
would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all
right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather
than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact
leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader
support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of
Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be
relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher,
responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come
in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to re-
make the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher
is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to
many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning
will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only
the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that
for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest
villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece
(1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775
teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying vil-
lages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles
back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if
they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory
during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school
day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases
bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important
to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary
concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and
behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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ing nation, but rather it was to study the ancient Greek culture as a basis for the new state and to establish the new Greek state as an extension of the old." [9] A general view of the curriculum, however, may be seen in two tables, the first of which (Table 5) is for the six-year grammar school.[10]

TABLE 5. CURRICULUM FOR SIX-YEAR GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	1	1	2	2	3	3	12
Greek language	8	9	9	9	9	9	53
History			1	2	2	2	7
Geography	3	3	2	2	2	2	14
Natural science			3	3	2	2	10
Physics, chemistry					2	2	4
Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Geometry					1	1	2
Drawing	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	17
Writing		2	2	2			
Handicrafts	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	11
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Total class hours (per week)	22	25	30	31	32	32	172

In the first two grades the pupils study religion, begin the reading and writing of the popular language (*demotike*), study some local geography and start arithmetic, and spend time on drawing, handicrafts, singing, and physical education. In the third grade history and biology are added, while in the fifth grade physics and chemistry and geometry are taken up. At this level such subjects have to be rudimentary, but at any rate they are begun so that in high school the teachers have a foundation on which to build in intensive fashion. The history courses are so planned that by the time the child has completed the sixth grade, he will have some knowledge of European history up to the sixteenth century.

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Turning now to the high school, we find a very full curriculum indeed. For an illustration we can look at the boys' high school (Table 6), since it is customary in a few of the cities to separate the boys and girls at the time of secondary school.[11] The only differences between the curriculum for the boys and the girls are that the latter has three hours less of ancient Greek, no Latin, three hours less of mathematics, but one more hour of hygiene and a six-hour home-economics course.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

878 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin			3	3	3	3	12
French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
Mathematics	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		8
Hygiene					1		1
Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1		7
Singing	2	2	1	1			6
Philosophy					2	2	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total class hours (per week)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

Ancient Greek. To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

Latin. To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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French. To learn to speak, write, and understand French; to understand and appreciate French literature and through it modern French civilization. (Seventeen hours.)

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that out of the 213 hours covered in high school, 98 are in languages. Twenty-five percent of the time is devoted to ancient Greek.

History. To study the way of life and thought of peoples. Comparison of ancient with modern times so as to allow the formation of an opinion which will help the student understand the influences of one historical period on another. History should lead to understanding of the Greek nation and civilization and their influence on contemporary religions, economies, science, arts, and morality. Teaching of patriotism and performance of the duties of citizens. (Eighteen hours.)

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Mathematics — Cosmography. To improve the ability of students in understanding arithmetic and geometry; in thinking clearly and precisely; to create the belief that mathematics is an important, independent science. Purpose of teaching cosmography: Learning about the celestial bodies, their relations, and the laws concerning their movements. (Twenty-two hours.)

Physical Sciences and Biology. Study of nature and importance of the physical sciences in life. Increase the students' love of nature. Application of science to industry and technology. Biology: Study of life and habitat of all living creatures in order to understand the uses of plants and animals in daily life. (Science: nineteen hours.)

Geography. Study of the surface of the earth, especially the area of Greece; influence of the land on human life; study of the people of Greece and the beauty of the land. (Eight hours.)

Hygiene. To improve the students' knowledge of hygienic conditions in life with relation to hygienic habits in personal and social life. For girls: Study of woman's body. Hygiene for babies and children. Hygiene of married and unmarried women; hygiene necessary for various ages of life. Nursing, elementary first aid. Use of drugs and medicine at home. (One hour for boys; two hours for girls.)

Philosophy is an introduction to psychology and logic, while handicrafts are taught not as manual training or shopwork but to further the "artistic education of students and to teach them to make small things with their hands."

And the curriculum guide correctly advises: "It is wise to create a musical life in the high school. The students will be better occupied during their recreational and relaxation time." Gymnastics consists of "physical exercises, games, swimming, dances, excursions, and several military (elementary) exercises for the boys and classic and folk dancing for the girls."

Such is the intellectual bill of fare for peasant boys attending the gymnasium in the nearest large village or town. There is, of course, no connec-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[12] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in [874] carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One
369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

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Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

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In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

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In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others.

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute.

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face).

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1969 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged.

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500.

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs.

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement.

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

However, Vasilika is an open community in still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Education beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry system and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a tax [illegible]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made. Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done.

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called 'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen, but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are eventually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves for ordination.

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherchori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt relieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education became comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have declined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circumstances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting indicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the village attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by — a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

For the landless segment of the population, and for those who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family anyway, the problem is quite different. Here the major consideration is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimination of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage. The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change, more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one-thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

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BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in 1909 in the village of Tjakrak a few miles away from the largest hazel nut exporting harbor of Kerasoun on the Black Sea. 114

During 1914 he attended his village school. He was deported to the interior part of Asia Minor with the rest of his family and during deportation, 1916-1918 he lost his parents and a brother.

In 1919 he entered the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Morsovan Turkey. After a year of study in Anatolia College he left for Greece in 1922 with the rest of his people.

He attended the Chalkis Gymnasium High School for a year. In 1923 he entered the migrated Anatolia College from Turkey to Greece. He graduated in 1926 and served for a year as teacher at the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Syra, Greece. In 1927 through the help of Professor Kelsey he came the United States and took his Bachelor of Science in 1932 from Cornell University. In 1932 he returned to Greece, and after a year's service in the Greek Army he started extension work in Kilkis area under the supervision of the Near East Foundation. During the years in extension work he married in 1934 Paulymnia Charpidou, a refugee from Pontus. Later a /2/ son was born. In 1939-40 he transferred to the Athens area to demonstrate the practical value of the new established system of extension. [873]

In 1940 through the interest and help of Professor L. D. Kelsey he returned to Cornell for advanced work.

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fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect on the farmers is great with definite results.

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. [621]
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them to every house in the village. The contributions from this event were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation project which was started by this group has led to the development of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill. 476 621 [345] [533] [735] [314] [185] [526]

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school. [874]

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of 1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how 873 [658]

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to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

873● [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too.

789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he

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